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Presbyterian and Independent.

OR,

THE SERPENT IN THE BOSOME, VNFOLDED.

Petron. Arbiter.

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To the un-byaſſed Reader.

You that are byaſſed with ſelfe-reſpects *I write not to, you have your Aimes; and your Ends (before you are aware, like Shot, not feared, till felt) will come upon you. To the* upright in heart, *though* miſ-led in judgement, *I ſpeake. Conſider how by a* prevaricating number of Grandees, *our* firſt Principles *are altered; our* Religion into Schiſme, *and* Hypocritical profaneneſſe; *Inſomuch that the Lords Supper is now almoſt every where diſcontinued, for want of (I know not what) imaginary Utopian holineſſe. The Creed, Lords Prayer, and Ten Commandements, (the inſtruments of Faith, Hope, Charitie, teaching* Omnia credenda, ſperanda, & facienda) *left out of the Directory. Thus much for Religion.*

Our known Lawes *(being the* ſecond Principle *held out to the People by the Nationall Covenant, and many Declarations) are turned into* Arbitrary, emergent, and up-ſtart Orders and Ordinances *of Parliament; every day riſing, and every day withering like Muſhromes. So that we are now governed* Jure vago & incerto, *by a leaden Lesbian rule, to which we cannot ſquare our obedience and actions, but muſt ſtay till the Grandees that guide the Legiſlative power of Parliament make application of them to our actions. A great miſerie.*

The third Principle is our Liberties. *What is become of them, this little Treatiſe will tell you, as alſo of our Properties. But ſtay! me thinks I heare men ſay, that the clamour and danger mutining at the Parliament doore theſe two laſt weeks, hath humbled our Grandees, and made them ſeek the Lord with* Faſting and Prayer. *I anſwer, let me tell you what ſucceeded in the Houſe of Commons, when a Letter and Declaration from the Army being tendred to be read, ſome of the Grandees anſwered, That if they ſhould read thoſe demands, they might chance to find them of that nature, as they can neither with juſtice deny them, nor with honour grant them, becauſe it was not honourable for them to doe their duty upon admonition of their Army, being but their ſervants, and would ſavour of compulſion. To prevent this, they reſolved to take into conſideration freely and of their owne*

accord the Grievances *which ſcandalized the people. They went therefore upon 3 Heads :* 1. The ſelf-denying Ordinance. *Upon which they Voted (as they ſaid by a Preparatory Vote onely) That all Members holding any Offices, Grants, or Places by conceſſion of the Parliament, ſhall account for, and pay in the profits thereof to the Grand Committee of Accounts. This I conceive (under favour of the Grandees, who poſſeſſe thoſe places, and contrived this Vote) to be a meere deluſory Order, For who can believe that ſuch ſelf-ſeeking men, as all men know them to be, will execute theſe Offices for nothing, and pay in to the uſe of the State their profits. Beſides, it is apparent how ſubſervient to theſe Grandees, their owne creatures, the Commitee of Accounts are.*

2. *They Voted, That no money hereafter ſhould be given to any Member in* compenſation or recompence of his loſſes, *untill the Publique Debts be paid. Here the Grandees were in earneſt, becauſe their own turnes are already ſerved, and the loſſe and inconvenience of this Vote falls onely upon the much contemned* Middle *or* Moderate Members.

3. *They appointed a Committee to conſider how to take off the Grievance ariſing from ſuch Members as abuſing the Priviledge of Parliament refuſe to pay their debts.*

Proh Superi, quantum mortalia pectora cæcæ
Noctis habent; Ipſe ſceleris molimine Tereus
Creditur eſſe pius; laudemque a crimine ſumit.

Let not the Grandees be offended, that I diſcover thoſe ſickneſſes which they labour to cover; Ante morbos, neceſſe eſt, cognitos eſſe, quam remedia eorum. *God onely can be the Æſculapius and cure them. But I am afraid they deſire rather a ſlight ſuppurating, then a perfect cure; and that they pray rather to hide, then help their evils.*

Da fallere, da juſtum, ſanctumque videri
Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice nubem.

If this be their condition, quos perdere vult Jupiter, hos dementat; quos tueri vult, ſuſcitat. *I have done my duty, even in this generation,* quando dicere quod nolo miſerum, quod volo & debeo periculoſum. *I leave the ſucceſſe to God, reſting,*

Thine,

THEODORVS VERAX.

The Myſterie of the two Iuntos, *Presbyterian* and *Jndependent*.

THe Kingdome being over-growne with *Prerogative, Corruption,* and *Superſtition,* (the fruits of a long and lazie peace) by a long diſcontinuance of Parliaments; At laſt by Providence His Majeſty was neceſſitated to call a Parliament, the onely Colledge of Phyſitians, to purge the much diſtempered body of the Common-wealth. 1.

In this Parliament a conteſt betweene the *Kings Prerogative* and the *Peoples Lawes and Liberties* begat a War. The *Divines* on both ſides out of their Pulpits ſounding Alarum thereto; and not onely *Sermons,* but *Declarations of Parliament,* and *the Nationall Covenant,* (holding forth to the people the defence of Religion, Lawes, Liberties, and propertyes) inflamed the people to the rage of battell, as the Elephant is inraged at the ſight of Red. This warre occaſioned extraordinary Taxes and leavies of money, ſuch as were never heard of by our Anceſtours, and were *Irritamenta malorum,* the nurſe of our Corruptions. 2.

This incentive working upon the humane frailty of the ſpeaking and leading members of the Houſes, cauſed them firſt to interweave their particular intereſts and ambitions with the publique, and laſtly to preferre them before the publique. 3. *Grandees.*

Wherefore the ſaid *Leading men or Grandees* (for that is now Parliament language) Firſt divided themſelves into *two factions or Juntos*: *Presbyterians,* and *Independants*: ſeeming to look onely upon the Church, but (Religion having the ſtrongeſt operation upon the ſpirit of man) involved the intereſts of the Common-wealth. 4. *Factions.*

The Common people of the two houſes following (with an implicite faith and blind obedience) the example of their leaders, divided themſelves alſo into the ſaid Dichotomy; which they did with more ſeriouſneſſe then their leaders, as not perceiving any thing of deſigne therein: But according to the diverſity of their judgements, or rather fancyes and confidings (for to reſigne a 5.

mans judgement to the opinion of another man is but a silly trust and confidence) studied the upholding of their parties with earnestnesse; whilst the Grandees of each party in private close together for their owne advancement, serving one anothers turn.

6. The *Grandees* (in all publique debates) seeme as reall in their reciprocall oppositions, as those silly ones who are in earnest, whereby they cherish the zeale of their respective parties, keep them still divided, *Divide & impera* is the devils rule) and so amuse them, and take them off from looking after other interests, in which (were they conjoyned) they might share with the Grandees themselves: and for the better contentment of such their Confidents as look too intentively after their own gain, the Grandees of each *Junto* conferre something of advantage upon those that are subservient to them, as five pounds a week, or some petty imployment.

7. The seed of these factions spread themselves into the Common-wealth & Armies: as Rheume distils from the Head into all the body.

8. *Monopolising Profits and preferments.* Thus the leading men or Bell-wethers having *seemingly divided themselves*, and having *really divided the Houses*: and captivated their respective parties judgement, teaching them by an Implicite faith, *Jurare in verba Magistri*, to pinne their opinions upon their sleeves; They begin to advance their projects of Monopolizing the profits, preferments and Power of the Kingdome in themselves. To which purpose, though the leaders of each party seem to maintain a hot opposition, yet when any profit or preferment is to be reached at, It is observed that a powerfull Independant especially moves for a Presbyterian: or a leading Presbyterian for an Independant: & seldome doth one oppose or speak against another (in such cases) unlesse something of particular spleene or Competition come betweene, which causeth them to breake the common Rule. By this meanes the Grandees of each faction seldome misse their mark, since an Independant moving for a Presbyterian, his reputation carries the businesse cleare with the Independant party: and the Prebyterians will not oppose a leading man of their own side. By this artifice the Grandees of each side share the Common wealth between them: And are now become proud, domineering Rehobams (even over the rest of their

fellow

fellow members, contrary to the liberty of Parl. which consists in an equality) that were formerly fawning ambitious Absaloms.

There hath been lately given away to members openly (besides innumerable and inestimable private cheates mutually connived at) at least 300000 l. in money, besides rich offices, Imployments in money Committees, Sequestrations and other advantages. And these members who have so well served themselves under colour of serving the publique, are (for the most part) old Canvasers of Factions who have set idlely and safely in the House watching their advantages to confound businesses, and shuffle the cardes to make their own game, when others that have ventured their persons abroad, labour'd in the publique work like Israelites under these Egyptian task-masters, and lost their estates, are left to starve, untill they can finde relieſe in that empty bag called by fooles *fides publica*, by wise men *fides punica*. And are now looked upon in the House supercilliously, like unwelcome guests (for it is known how malignantly and how juglingly Writs for new elections were granted and executed) and called *younger brothers*, and like younger brothers they are used: their elder brothers have slipped into the world before them, and anticipated the inheritance; They have broken first into the common field, and shut the door to prevent after commers even from gleaning after their full harvest. For the better effecting whereof they have now morgaged (in effect) all the meanes they have to raise money, unto the City. And being themselves fat and full with the publique Treasure (to expresse rather their scorn then care) They are making an Ordinance that no more money shall be given to their members. And yet to shew how carefull they are of all such as have *cheated* the Common-wealth *under them* (I will not say *for them*) They have taken advantage of the petition of the Army, wherein they desired Indemnitie for all acts done in Relation to the warre. And have passed an Ordinance of Indemnity for all such as have acted *by authoritie* and *for the service* of the Parliament, wherein (under great penalties, and with an appeale at last from the Judges of the Law to a Committee of Parliament) such as have gone beyond the authoritie given by Parliament, and sequestred men unjustly, and so withheld their goods under pretence thereof, and such as have leavyed taxes three or

9.

four

four times over, are quite from private actions? and the benefite of Law and justice taken from the Oppressed, to secure *country Committees, Sequestrators* and others, (not *prerogative*, but *Legislative*) *Theeves*; contrary to *Magna Charta*, which sayes, *nulli negabimus, nulli differemus justitiam, aut rectum*; We will deny nor defer justice and right to no man. Oh prodigious acts, and of greater tyranny then any King ever durst adventure upon. What is become of our *Nationall Cov.* and the Parliament many *Declarations* for defence of Lawes and liberty? Or have we fought our liberty into slavery? By these devices the *honest middle men* of the house (whose consciences will not let them joyn in any faction to rend the Common-wealth in sunder) are out of all possibilitie of repaire, and made contemptible as well by their own wants, as the pride of the Grandees: and in the end, their poverty will inforce them to leave the sole possession of the house to these *thriving Junto men*, who do beleaguer them therein, making them (for farther addition to their losses) pay all taxes, from which the *thriving men* go free: so that the poorer part of the House payes tribute to the richer. Nay it is further whispered, that at last the *Junto men* will quit the Parliament priviledge of not being sued, purposely to leave these *younger Brothers* to the mercy of their Creditors, and disable them to sit in their House.

12. *Committees of the Houses*

An other ambicious ayme of those *Junto men*, is their devise of referring all businesses of moment *to Committees*. For the active speaking men by muttuall agreement naming one another of every Committee (or at least their confident Ministers) do thereby *fore-stall and intercept* the businesses of the house, and under colour of examining and preparing matters, they report them to the house with what glosses, additions, detractions, and advantages they please; whereby the House (judging according to their report) oftentimes misjudgeth, and if it be a businesse they are willing to smother, the Committees have infinite artificiall delayes to put it off, and keep it from a hearing, or at least from reporting. By this meanes the remaining part of the House are but cyphers to value, and Suffragans to ratify what is fore-judged by the said Committees. This usurpation of theirs is much helped by keeping the doors of their Committee roomes shut, and dispatching all affaires privately and in the dark. Whereas Justice

delights

delights in the light, and ought to be as publique as the common aire, it being against its nature to be chambred up and kept from the observation of eye, are eare witnesses.

Parts of this project we may well call the *Multiplicity of money Committees*, as Goldsmithes hall, Haberdashers hall, the Committee of the Kings revenues, Committee of the Army &c. Where every mans profit and power is according to his cunning and conscience. Hereby they draw a generall dependency after them, for he that commands the money, commands the men: These Committee men are so powerfull that they over-awe and over-power their fellow members, contrary to the nature of a free Parliament: wherein the equallity of the members must maintaine the freedome and integrity thereof, and suppresse factions. 11. *Money Committees.*

The like may be said of such *members as* (in scorn of the *self-denying Ordinances*) *hold offices by gift or conivence* of the Parliament: either *openly* in their own name, or *Secretly* in the name of some friend. Their offices inabling them to do courtesies and discourtesies. And although there hath been a Committee appointed to certifie all pensions, Sequestrations, offices, imployments of advantage and profits conferred by the Parliament upon any their members, in which Committee, Mr *Sands* holdeth the chair; yet is this meerly a formallity to blind the eyes of the world, and fool the expectation of some loosing members, who were then resolute to know who had already received satisfaction for their losses, and how farre they had out-run their fellow-members therein. Yet this Committee is now let fall, no reports demanded of Mr *Sands*: and when any is to be made, they are not unprovided of a meanes to make it fruitlesse, by putting every particular to debate: well knowing that no man will be willing to argue against the particular persons and merits of his fellow-members, and thereby heap envie upon his own head; besides the delay of a particular debate. 12. *Members holding offices &c.*

How frequently the *countrey Committees* act contrary to the Laws of the Land: how they trample *Magna Charta* under their feet, how boldly and avowedly they transgresse all Orders and Ordinances of Parliament, and break our Solemn League and Covenant, how they ordinarily turn well affected men out of 13. *Countrey Committees.*

their free-holds and goods, imprison and beat their persons without any known charge, accuser, or witness against them. How frequently they leavy one taxe three or foure times over, and continue their leavies after the Ordinances expire. How cruelly they raise the twentieth and fifth part upon the well affected; exercising an illegall arbitrary tyrannicall power over their fellow subjects farre higher than ever *Straford* or *Canterbury* durst advise the King to. How ignorantly and unjustly they exercise a power *to heare and determine* (or rather to determine without hearing, or heare without understanding) *private controversies of Meum & Tuum, for debts, trespasses,* nay *title and possession of land,* without either formality or knowledge of the Law, not having wit, manners nor breeding enough (as being chosen for the greatest part, out of the basest of the people, for base ends) to satisfy men with an outside, or complement of justice: Insomuch that nothing is now more common, then an Accusation without an Accuser, a sentence without a Judge, and a condemnation without a hearing. If any man, I say, be so deaf as not to heare the loud universall outcrying of the people; so great a stranger in our Israel as not to know this truth, let him peruse M. *Edward Kings* Discovery of the arbitrary actions of the Com. of *Lincolne*, printed 1647, where he may see these things briefly epitomised; but to historise them at large would require a volume as big as the book of *Martyrs*. These Committees are excellent spunges to suck money from the people, and to serve not only their owne, but also the Covetous, Malicious, Ambitious ends of those that raked them out of the dunghill for that employment, and to defend them in their oppressions. Who is so blind as not to see that these men have their protectors? their *Damons* to whom they offer up part of their rapines; to whom they sacrifice.

Occulta spolia, & plures de pace Triumphos.

If there be any intention to restore our Laws & Liberties, and free us from Arbitrary Government; it is fit these Committees and all Associations bee laid down, having no enemy to associate against, and that the old form of Government by Shrieffes, Justices of the Peace, &c. be re established: and the *Militia* in each County setled as before, in Lievtenants, and Deputy Lievtenants, or in Commissioners.

Nor-

Nor is it a ſmall artifice to raiſe money by ſo *many ſeverall and confuſed Taxes.* Whereas one or two wayes orderly uſed and well husbanded, would have done the work. 1. Royall Subſidie of 400000.l. 2. Pole money. 3. The free Loanes and Contributions upon the Publique Faith amounted to a vaſt incredible ſumme in Money, Plate, Horſe, Armes, &c. 4. The Iriſh Adventure for ſale of Lands the firſt and ſecond time. 5. The weekly Meale. 6. The City Loane after the rate of 50. Subſidies. 7. The Aſſeſſement for bringing in the Scots. 8. The 5. and 20. part. 9. The weekly Aſſeſſement for my L. Generals Army. 10. The weekly (or Monthly) Aſſeſſement for Sir *Tho. Fairfax* Army. 11. The weekly Aſſeſſement for the Scotiſh Army. 12. The weekly Aſſeſſement for the Britiſh Army in *Ireland.* 13. The weekly Aſſeſſement for my L. of *Manchеſters* Army. 14. Free-quarter (at leaſt) connived at by the State, becauſe the Souldiers having for a time ſubſiſtence that way, are the leſſe craving for their pay: whereby their Arreares growing ſtale, will, at laſt, either be fruſtrated by a tedious Committee of Accounts, or forgotten. In the mean time, the Grand Committee of Accounts diſcount it out of the Commanders Arrears, whereby the State ſaves it. 15. The Kings Revenue. 16. Sequeſtrations and Plunder by Committees, which if well anſwered to the State would have carryed on the work: which thus I demonſtrate, One halfe of all the goods and chattels, and (at leaſt) one halfe of all the Lands, Rents, and Revenues of the Kingdome, have been Sequeſtred. And who can imagine that one halfe of the profits and goods of the Land will not maintaine any Forces that can be kept and ſed in *England* for the defence thereof? 17. Exciſe upon all things. This alone if well managed, would maintain the Warre. The Low-Countreys make it almoſt their only ſupport. 18. Fortification money, &c By theſe ſeverall wayes and Taxes about 40 *Millions* in money and money-worth have been milked from the people: and the Parliament (as the Pope did once) may call England, *Puteum inexhauſtum*; yet is now almoſt drawn dry: a vaſt Treaſury, and ſo exceſſive as nothing but a long peace could import; and nothing but much fraud and many follies could diſſipate. And we ought not to wonder if it be accounted *inter ar-*

cana novissimi Imperii to be alwayes making, yet never finishing an account thereof.

15. *Accounts.* And as they have artificially confounded the accompts by laying on multiplicity of Taxes; so (for the same reason) they let the money run in so many muddy, obscure channels, through so many Committees and Officers fingers, both for collecting, receiving, issuing and paying it forth, that it is impossible to make or ballance any publique account thereof: and at the least one halfe thereof is known to be devoured by Committees and Officers; and those that for lucre protect them. By these meanes as they make many men partners with them in the publike spoyles, so they much strengthen and increase their party, whereby *multitudo peccantium tollit pœnam.*

If these things were not purposely done, 1. our Taxes would be fewer in number, and more in effect. 2. They would be put to runne in one channell, under the fingering of fewer Harpies, and perspicuous and true Entries made of all receipts and disbursements, which would be publique to common view and examination. The Exchequer way of Accompts is the exactest, ancieutest, and best known way of account of *England*, and most free from deceit: Which is almost confessed *de facto*, when (to make the Kings Revenue more obnoxious to their desires) they took it out of the Exchequer way, (contrary to the Fundamentall Laws of the Land; for both the Higher & Lower Exchequer are as ancient and fundamentall as any Court in *England*) and put it under a Committee, which (as all other Committees do) will render an account of their stewardship at the latter day. In the meane time divers of that Committee buy in old sleeping Pensions which they pay themselves from the first of their arreares: yet other men that have disbursed money out of their purses for the Kings Service, can receive no pay for any mony laid forth before *Michaelmas* Term, 1643. because (forsooth) then the Committee first took charge of the Revenue. In the mean time the Kings Tenants and Debtors are deprived of the benefit of the Laws and Liberties of the Subject, which before they enjoyed: all Debts and Monies being now raised by the terror of the Pursuivants and Messengers, whose Commissions are only to distrain

and

and levy, &c. whereas formerly the Exchequer ſent out legall Proceſs, and the Tenant or Debtor had liberty to plead to it in his owne defence, if he thought himſelfe wronged; but now New Lords, new Lawes, and to countenance their doings, the Committee have gotten an addition of ſome Lords to them. 3. If there were faire play above board, ſo many Members of both Houſes would not be ambitious of the trouble and clamour that attends Task-Maſters, Publicans, and ſuch ſinners as ſit at the receipt of Cuſtome, being no part of the buſineſſe, for which the writ ſummons, or the people chooſe or truſt them, and whereby they are diverted from the buſineſſe of the Houſe: but would leave that imployment to other men, who not having the character and priviledge of Parliament upon them, will be leſſe able to protect themſelves and their agents from giving publique accounts of their receipts and diſburſements, and from putting affronts & delayes upon the Committee of Accompts, as (it is wel known) ſome of them have done. Laſtly, it is ſcandalous that the ſame men ſhould be continued ſo long in their money imployments, becauſe *Diuturnitas & ſolitudo corrumpunt Imperia*; and by long continuance and experience they grow ſo hardned, ſo cunning in their way, and ſo backed with dependencies, that it is almoſt impoſſible to trace them. And although (when we look upon the many perſons imployed) we cannot ſay there is *ſolitudo perſonarum*; yet when we conſider that by a long partnerſhip in their imployments they are allyed together in one common intereſt; they are to be eſteemed but as one man, for a Corporation of men is but many men joyned together as one man, and with one mind purſuing one and the ſame end or intereſt.

16. *Committee of Accounts.*

And though we have a generall Committee of Accompts, yet they were nominated by thoſe Members that ought to give Accompts: and it muſt needs be ſuſpitious for an Accomptant to chooſe thoſe perſons before whom he ſhall accompt. And we ſee (after ſo long a time of their ſitting) no fruit thereof. Whereas the people did hope, that after ſo much money ſpent, and ſuch great debts and arreares left to pay, (whereby they are threatned with continuance of their Taxes) That a full and exact generall accompt of all Receipts and Diſburſements would have been publiſhed.

liſhed in Print, for their ſatisfaction, as is uſually done in the Low-Countries, and as was once done by this Parliament, *Anno* 1642. by a Declaration of the accounts of the kingdome.

17 *Wants of the Parliament, and how occaſioned.*

By theſe exorbitant courſes, though they have drayned 40. Millions from the people, yet (as *Philip* of *Macedon* was ſaid to be *Inter quotidianas rapinas ſemper inops*) they are faln to ſuch ridiculous want and beggery, that they have lately pawned almoſt all the ſecurity they have for 200000 l. to disband the Army, and enter upon the *Iriſh* imployment. They have ſlit Goldſmiths Hall in ſunder, and given one ſide thereof to the City, and kept the other halfe thereof to themſelves, and that already charged with 200000. l. at leaſt. So that if any ſudden occaſion happen, they have put their purſe into the hands of the uncircumciſed Jews of the City, and cannot raiſe one peny but by new taxes upon the people. It was worth obſerving to ſee how officiouſly ſome of the old Stagers took leave of the publike Purſe, before it came into Huckſters hands. Alderman *Pennington* had a debt of 3000. l. he owed to Sir *John Pennington* forgiven him, (he never asked forgiveneſſe of his ſins ſo heartily) and 3000. l. more given him out of Goldſmiths Hall in courſe. The reaſon of this bounty was forked or two-fold:

1. Becauſe he had got enough before.

2. To comfort his heart, for being left out of the City Militia. But the moſt obſervable thing was, to ſee this old Parliament like a young Prodigall, take up money upon difficult termes and intangle all they had for a ſecurity.

1. They gave way to the City to hedge in an old debt, being a loane of money after the rate of Subſidies: and other old debts.

2. Whereas 200000. l. only was the ſumme to be borrowed; the City enjoyned them to take up 230000. l. whereof the the odde 30000. l. to be beſtowed for reliefe of decayed occupiers of the City: So that (upon the matter) the Parliament payes 30000. l. Broakage.

3. That the City may not truſt the greateſt unthrifts of Chriſtendome, with laying out their own money; they put upon them two Treaſurers of the City to retain and diſburſe it for the ſervice

vice for which it was borrowed. So ye ſee they have now neither credit, money, nor a purſe to put it in.

18 *Modeſt and middle members.*

So that the *modeſt Members* who have been more forward to help their Countrey then themſelves, are left in the lurch for their loſſes, and expoſed to the laughter of their Elder Brothers, the old *Junto* men, and factious leaders of the Houſe; all being now morgaged to the *Lombards* of the City. The *thriving Members* hope their younger brothers will continue as modeſt as they have been, and digeſt all with patience. But others (and thoſe neither fools nor knaves) hope all the *modeſt and middle men* of the Houſes (ſuch as are ingaged in no faction) will be provoked hereby to draw into a third party or *junto* to moderate the exceſſes of the other two, when any thing prejudiciall to the Commonwealth is agitated; and to call the old *junto* men, thoſe land pyrats, to account, making them caſt up what they have ſwallowed, and bring it to a common *dividend*. Not let them be diſcouraged with the ſuppoſed difficulty hereof, ſince 20 or 30. men holding together, and obſerving the croſſe debates, and different ſway of each party, may eaſily make themſelves moderators of their differences, and turn the ſcales for the beſt advantage of the common, which way they pleaſe to caſt in their votes, ſince it is very rare to have any queſtion carried by more then eight or ten voyces.

19 *Grandees proviſion to ſave themſelves.*

Moſt of theſe *Grandees* have for *their Retreat*, houſes in the Low Countries, richly furniſhed with ſequeſtred Plate, Linnen, and Stuffe; and great ſtore of money in bank for their ſhelter, againſt ſuch ſtormes as their Rapine, Tyranny, and Ignorance may haply rayſe here amongſt us. In thoſe their retirements, theſe Authors of our miſeries will enjoy their ſinnes, and our ſpoyles in ſecurity, attending an opportunity to purchaſe their peace at laſt, and betray our Safeties and Liberties to the enraged Prince and People. This is called robbing the Ægyptians. And truly theſe ambitious State-Mountebanks have brought us into a darkneſſe worſe then Ægyptian. The text ſayth, the Ægyptians roſe not from their places in three dayes: They yet knew where they were; which is more then we do, every man being out of his place and rank. The ſervant in place of his Maſter, the Begger in place of the King, the foole in place of the Counſellour, the Theeſe

in

in place of the Judge, the Cheater in place of the Treasurer, the Clowne in place of the Gentleman; none but God alone can play *Dædalus* part, and give us a Clue to lead us out of this labyrinth, into which these unpolitique *Hocus Pocusses* have brought us. These unskilfull workmen that have built up Babel, and pulled downe Sion. Others are said to prepare Forraigne Plantations for Retreat; To people which, children are ravished from their parents armes, and Shipped away; an abomination not knowne in England before, and therefore no competent Law made against it; no more then in ancient Rome against Parricides.

20. *Grandees their severall interests and designs and strengths.*

By what hath been already said, you see what the *severall*, and what the *conjoyned interests* of these *two Juntos* or *Factions*, *Presbyterian* and *Independent* are. Let us now consider where *their severall strength* lyes. The *Independants* groundeth his strength upon the *Army*, which if he can keepe up, he hopes to give the Law to all; and to produce that great Chymæra, *Liberty of Conscience*: not considering that the confusion and licentiousnesse of such a liberty will destroy it selfe, *Libertas Libertate perit*. The *Presbyterians* have three *pillars* to support them. 1. *The City* is their cheife foundation, with which they keepe a strict correspondencie, and dayly communication of Councells. Upon this consideration, they have lately put the Parliament Purse into the Cities Pocket as aforesaid; setled and inlarged the City Militia. Whereas all the Countryes of England (being more obnoxious to injuries then the Citie) suffer much for want of setling their Militia; the Parliament not trusting them with armes, so much as for their owne defence: An evident signe, there is a farther designe then disbanding this Army. And because the Citie Militia, can only keepe in awe the adjacent South and East Counties of the Kingdome; therefore to suppresse the remoter parts, and inforce them to obedience, they keepe up some *in-land Garrisons*, and have *Generall Poyntz supernumerarie forces* for the North. And in *the West* (under colour of sending men for Ireland) they keepe upon free quarter and pay of the country, *many supernumerarie Regiments* and Troops, most Cavaliers; at least five times as many as they really intend to transport. These are alwayes going, but never gone: Like Saint *George*, alwayes in his saddle, never on his way.

way. Something ever is and ſhall be wanting untill *Sir Thomas Fayrfax's* Army be diſbanded; and then (it is thought) the diſguiſe will fall off; and theſe ſupernumeraries ſhall appeare a new modelled Army under Presbyterian commanders, you may be ſure: and ſuch whoſe conſciences ſhall not befoole their wits where any matter of gain appeareth; If this be not their ayme, Why did they not disband theſe lewd Supernumeraries before laſt winter, ſince they might have raiſed as many men the ſpring following for half the charge their very free quarters coſt? And moſt of theſe ſweare they will not goe for Ireland, vowing they will cut the throats of the Round-Heades.

The countrey is amazed, fearing theſe Cavaleers are kept on freequarter by a Cavaleeriſh party for ſome Cavaleeriſh Deſigne. Secondly, why did they not rather divide *Sr. Thomas Fayrfax* Army into two parts, one to go for *Ireland*, the other to ſtay in *England*, being already modelled, excellently diſciplined, and having the viſible marks of Gods favour upon their actions? But to take a few for Ireland, a few for England, and leave a Coare in the middle to be plucked forth and disbanded, was the way to diſcontent them, and put them into mutiny: and thereby neceſſitate the Parliament to disband them all: and give an opportunitie to them that ſeek it, to new modell another army out of the aforeſaid Supernumeraries, more plyable to the deſires of the Presbyterian *Junto*: Adde hereunto the cauſleſſe exaſperating ſpeeches and aſperſions caſt upon moſt of the army purpoſely, as moderate men think, to diſcontent them. Thirdly, If they have no intent to keep up an army upon the people, why have they continued the military charge for another year; and inlarged it from 52000 l. to 60000 l. a moneth?

Thus the *City*, *Inland Garriſons*, and *Supernumerarie forces new modelled* are like to prove the three ſtringed whips wherewith the Presbyterian Phaetons will drive their tryumphant Chariot if they prevaile; To which may be added *the Presbyters* themſelves, who by overawing mens Conſciences with their doctrine, will ſubdue and work mens minds like wax to receive any impreſſion of bondage that tyranny and oppreſſion can ſet upon them, as they do in Scotland: The Clergy in all times and places have ever 21. *Presbyters.*

held with the mightier as the Jacco hunts still with the Lion to partake of his prey.

22. *Queries upon the premises.*

The premises considered, I shall propound these ensuing *Queries* to those that are of better Judgement then my self.

1 *Quere*, Why the Title and punishment of Malignants is translated from the Cavaliers, who fought for Regall Tyrannie against the Parl. and laid upon those that fought against Regall Tyrannie for the Parliam. Is it not because those Cavaliers that have fought for one Tyrannie, will not be scrupulous to fight for another? and such well affected as have opposed Tyranny in one kind, will not admit of it in another? Why is it now accounted a note of malignity and disaffection to endeavour the putting down of Arbitrary Government, and re-establishing our lawes, liberties and properties; whereto the Parliament by their many Declarations and their nationall Covenant are bound? Lay this to heart and consider whether they have not changed these their first principles, and consequently whether they are not desirous to change their old friends who resolutely adhere to the said principles.

2 If the King grant the Propositions; or if he deny them, and the predominant *Junto* (for both *Junto's* joyned in one (for this is probable) to drive on one common interest) establish the military and civill power without him, according to their desires, and in order to their aymes. *Quere* whether the said leading men setled in their postures with their confident guards about them, may not draw after them so many of their party, as upon an implicite faith will follow them, and lick up the crums of the publique spoiles under their Tables: expelling or disabling (as aforesaid) the disingaged members, and by this policy make themselves perpetuall Dictators, incorporating and ingrossing to themselves both the Consultive, Directive and Ministeriall power of the Kingdome in all causes civill and Militarie, setting up an *Oligarchy* or popular Tyranny in stead of a Regall: As the thirtie Tyrants of Athens did. In order whereto they already declare, 1. That an Ordinance of Parliament without the Kings Royall assent is equall to an Act of Parliament. 2. That an Ordinance is above a Law by virtue of their Legislative power: upon which presuming in their Ordinance of Indempnity they have granted an Appeale from the Judges of the Law to a Committee of Parliament. See the Ordinance May 21. 1647. 3. That they are the Irrevocable

vocable Truſtees of the peoples lawes, liberties and properties, without account: with other *principles preparative to Tyrannie.*

3. *Quære,* Why Arbitrary and Barbarous Government by Committees and other Illegall proceedings (which in time of war were uſed upon Reall or pretended neceſſitie, & were then onely excuſable, becauſe *neceſſitas tollit Legem*) are ſtill continued upon us now in time of peace, no enemies troubling our quiet, and without any further pretence of neceſſitie, Contrary to their Nationall Covenant, and all their Declarations? Is it not, to inure the People to ſervitude, and ever uſe their patience?

4 *Quære,* Whether the Prodigious oppreſſions of Committees, Sequeſtrators &c. and of free quarter be not purpoſely countenanced to neceſſitate the people to riſe in tumults, that thence occaſion may be taken to keep in-land Garriſons and Armies?

5. *Quære;* Whether our lawes, libertyes, and propertyes are not now as lyable to an Invaſion from the *Legis-lative power*, as formerly from the *Prerogative?* conſidering that thoſe who like ambitious *Abſalom* courted and wooed the people in the beginning of troubles, now like haughtie *Rehoboams* care not though the people complaine: Their little finger is heavier then the loynes of the King, The controverſie between the two *Junto's* being no more, then whoſe ſlaves wee ſhall be.

If the *middle and diſingaged men* in the Houſe doe not ſpeedily unite themſelves into a party or *Junto*, as the factious have done, and communicate their counſels; They wil be *arena ſine calce*, looſe ſand diſſipated by every breath: and neither ſerviceable for themſelves nor their countrey. Whereas if they unite, twenty or thirty may become Moderators and Umpeers between both parties; (as hath been already ſaid) Let the moderate men but conſider how ſad and diſhonourable a thing it is to ſee nothing almoſt of great and publique concernment come into the Houſe, but what hath bin *before hand contrived, debated, and digeſted* in one or both of the two *Junto's* at their *private meetings*: and put into ſo reſolved and prejudicate a way and method of diſpatch, that every man is appointed his part or Cue before-hand: One man to move it, and ſet it on foot, another to ſecond him: One man to ſpeak to one part of the argument, another to another part: another to keep himſelf to the laſt for a reſerve, and ſpeak to the queſtion, which he is provided to qualifie with a diſtinction, or vary

23. *Middle and Moderate members againe.*

it, if hee finde it difficult to paſſe. Thus all publique buſineſſes are meaſured by private reſpects; whereby it appears, that as *frequent Parl.* are *good phyſick*: ſo continuall Parl. are *bad food*; & the people may complain, that, *qui medice vivit, miſere vivit.* Parliaments are *Bona peritura*; they cannot keep long without Corruption. Their perpetuity emboldens the members, by taking from them all feare of being called to account: Eſpecially if they get their ſonnes into the Houſe as well as themſelves (as many have done this Parliament: and more endeavour to do) whereby they have an eſtate in their places for two or three lives: Moreover by long ſitting they become ſo familiar with one anothers Perſons and deſignes, as to ſerve one anothers turnes, to joyn intereſts, and to draw into factions. *Hodie mihi, cras tibi.* If you and your party will helpe me to day, I and my friend will helpe you to morrow.

24. *Concluſion with ſome complaints.*

Miſerima Reſp: ubi majeſtas Imperii, & ſalus populi diſcordibus conflictantur ſtudiis. What ſhall we ſay?

& quo diſcordia tetra——perduxit miſeros?

Shall we complaine to God? God hath a controverſie with us. Of whom ſhall we complaine? of our ſelves? we muſt firſt reforme our ſelves: we that take upon us to reforme Church and Common-wealth. Shall we complaine of our ſinnes? aske the grace of repentance firſt; and ſo aske that we may obtaine. Shall we complaine of our puniſhments? let us firſt repent, and amend our ſins that cauſed them. Let us firſt pluck off the maſk of hypocriſie, God will ſee through ſuch a fantaſticall garment of Figleaves. Let us no longer make Religion a ſtalking-horſe; God who is all Wiſdome, and all Truth, will not be deceived. If we talke like Chriſtians, and live like Turks, Chriſt will not owne us. To faſt for a day, and hang our heads like bulruſhes, will not reconcile us. We muſt faſt from publique ſpoiles, rapines and oppreſſion, and not drink the tears of the poore and needy. Shall we complaine with the Prophet, That our Princes are become Theeves? that was heretofore our complaint, now we muſt invert it, and cry, That our Theeves (meane and baſe people) are become Princes. We are ſick, very ſick, intemperately ſick; and God hath given us a Phyſitian in his wrath, a Leper as white as

ſnow,

ſnow, fitter to infect then cure us. What phyſick doth he preſcribe? Poyſon. What dyet? Stones inſtead of bread, Scorpions inſtead of fiſhes, hard fare for them that formerly fed ſo daintily. Before I conclude, let me give you the pedegree of our Miſeries, and of their Remedies. A long Peace begat Plenty, Plenty begat Pride, and her ſiſter Riot; Pride begot Ambition, Ambition begot Faction, Faction begot Civill Warre: And (if our evils be not incurable, if we be not falne *in id temporis quo nec vitia noſtra, nec eorum remedia ferre poſſumus*) our Warre will beget Poverty, Poverty Humility, Humility Peace againe, *Sic verſis revertentibus vicibus annulus vertitur Politicus.* The declining ſpoake of the wheele will riſe againe. But we are not yet ſufficiently humbled; we have not repented with *Nineveh*. We weare Silks and Velvets inſtead of ſack-cloath and aſhes (even the meaneſt up-ſtart hath his thefts writ upon his backe by his Taylor in proud Characters of Gold lace) we have not watered our couch with our Teares, but with adulterous ſweat. Looke to it therefore ye ſtate *Incubi*, that by an inceſtuous copulation have begot plenty upon Warre, and filled your houſes with the ſpoile and plunder of your dear Country; an inundation of blood, and of the teares of the oppreſſed will waſh away the foundation of your houſes: And peace will be farre from you in this world, but eſpecially that peace which the world cannot give: And becauſe *Salamander*-like you delight in the fire of contention; an unquenchable fire will be your lot hereafter. And though you eſcape all accounts here, yet upon the great day of account when you ſhall receive your ſentence of condemnation; thoſe your children for whoſe preferment you ſell your ſoules, your God for gold, ſhall not ſhew ſo much thankfulneſſe or pitty towards you, as to ſay, alas our father! But your hearts are hardned with *Pharaoh*, I leave you therefore to *Pharaohs* deſtiny, to be drowned in your owne Red Sea, as he was in his.

Thus farre I adventured to vindicate our Religion, Lawes and Liberties with my pen; in diſcharge of my Conſcience, and purſuance of our Nationall Covenant which obligeth us to defend them againſt whoſoever to our power; neither knowing nor caring whether in ſo wicked an age (wherein vice is honoured, and 25. *Reſolution & ſcope of the Author.*

vertue contemned) I may be thought worthy of punishment for being more righteous then my superiors. I know an honest man is wondered at like a monster, and the innocency of his life and conversation suspected as a Libell against the State, yet if I perish I perish; *& pereundum in licitis.* Nor am I lesse provided of a safe retreat then our Grandees. My grave is open for me, and one foot in it alreadie. *Contempsit omnes ille qui mortem prius.* He that contemnes death, scornes both Hope and Feare; which are the only affections that make Knaves, Fooles and Cowards of all the world. The world is a goodly Theater, we the Actors, God is both Poet and cheife spectator. We must not choose our own parts, that is at Gods appointment. One man he appoints to play the King, another the Begger, one a Comick, another a Tragicke part: Whatsoever part God hath appointed for me in this remainder of my life, I will have a care to personate it ingenuously and aptly: Not doubting but my *Exit* shall be accompained with an applause into my tyring Roome, my Tombe; nor will I refuse the meanest part that may draw a plaudit from so excellent a spectator, but will prepare my selfe for the worst of evills, in this worst of times; and pray to God to reforme our Reformers. *Amen.*

THE END.